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Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi*: "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[58] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusai Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3 THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[58] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

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3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

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He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

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2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

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3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū [b] sect on the mainland and this would

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[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

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lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

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The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

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treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

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However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten ri in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given.

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Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick.[e] Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues[e] and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

[e] Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

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lence" [6] and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods," [7] or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful" [8] but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

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INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

[6] Namikawa Temmin, *Hekiyōroku*.
[7] Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu*.
[8] *Ezo Sōshi*.

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is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

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7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

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8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

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3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Hoishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ." it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikatsu Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.